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NASSER'S HOMECOMING—PAGE 5

COMMENT

A CHANCE TO FIND OUT

At last we are getting somewhere. We have it now on good authority that Israel has no designs on her Arab neighbours and maintains her armed forces only as a "deterrent" to discourage Arab hotheads. We have it now on equally good Egyptian authority that the United Arab Republic has no intention of attacking Israel (though President Nasser has a curious way of expressing his pacifism towards the Israelis) and the armed forces of the U.A.R. exist only as a "deterrent" to keep Israeli and imperialist hotheads at bay.

We may even, without being disrespectful, discount most of President Nasser's recent fulminations against Israel at home, and his more discreet manner of expressing himself at the United Nations. Clearly, these warlike pronouncements belong rather to the current catechism of Arab nationalism than to the policy-making of enlightened Arab leadership. Stripped of the propaganda verbiage, we have therefore a situation which is both simple and understandable. Israel and Nasser both say that they have no intention of attacking each other; both say that they are afraid the other may attack them; and both claim therefore that they maintain a powerful defence force as a deterrent against such an attack.

President Nkrumah of Ghana understood the situation, and said so. But he has not the authority to take the situation further, to follow it up with some action. For here is a situation which cries out for a political initiative to underline the obvious, that there must be a more sensible and a cheaper way of balancing this mutual fear than by the maintenance of armed forces which cripple the budgets and the social progress of both countries, Israel and the U.A.R. alike. Here, in short, we have what we have been looking for for years, a genuine mutual interest.

* * *

It is not the kind of situation that calls for public displays of verbal fencing or for challenging denunciations. The world is sick of it and so, we suspect, are the peoples of Israel and of her Arab neighbours. Statesmanship should be able to produce in this day and age something more than clever speeches without follow-up. This is not simply a cry from the heart in a hopeless situation. For in the midst of all the clowning and tragedy at the Assembly, we suddenly find ourselves at grips with a situation that has possibilities, if we don't let it slide away again.

Statesmanship in this context does not mean making large gestures; it means exploiting the existing situation.

One can therefore understand Mr. Ben-Gurion's disappointment at the escapist part played by Pandit Nehru. He has the standing, the ability and the respect which are essential to an effective mediator. He could have done something to perfect a formula of mediation between Ben-Gurion and Nasser. He had the perfect opportunity. Nasser had committed himself to talks, and Ben-Gurion himself to disarmament. All that was necessary was someone who could steer this combination away from the public platforms of the Assembly and move it into the privacy of the conference room. It might well have lent more weight to the seriousness of the neutralist resolution urging Eisenhower and Khrushchev to meet.

Altogether now it seems that Nehru has shot his bolt as a potential peacemaker. His hesitation to have full diplomatic relations with Israel is merely another aspect of this weakness. But if not Nehru, who then can clear the path to the conference room? Tito, like Nehru, does not want to play the peacemaker. It is doubtful whether any of the African leaders have sufficient weight behind them for this purpose. Nkrumah might be a possibility, but he has enough troubles of his own nearer home.

* * *

There remain two possibles: Hammarskjöld or the next American President. The Secretary-General enjoys the personal esteem of Premier Ben-Gurion and of President Nasser. He could take the enquiry which we raised recently (*in our issue of September 16*) one stage further. He could as a preliminary put these four questions to Nasser and Ben-Gurion respectively:

1. Are they prepared in principle to negotiate all outstanding questions?
2. Are they prepared to negotiate a settlement of the Arab refugee problem?
3. Are they prepared to accept the existing international frontiers of Israel and of the Arab states; if not, what are the specific changes demanded?
4. Are they prepared to conclude a mutual non-aggression pact, linked with planned and total disarmament?

Judging from the Israel Foreign Minister's speech on Monday in the Assembly, there would be general acceptance from Mr. Ben-Gurion. But what of President Nasser? An enquiry by the Secretary-General about these unexceptionable terms might at least elucidate one all-important matter. If the Arab fear of a possible Israeli attack is real, then they will accept the invitation to find a peaceful settlement on a freely negotiated basis, and under United Nations aegis. But if this fear is not real, if it is paraded only to provide an excuse for ever increasing armament, then at least the United Nations and the Afro-Asians will know where they stand—and what it is that President Nasser is after.

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- Cover: Nasser welcomed
home by Cairo crowd.

Photo: Keystone

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DIPLOMACY

END OF THE SUEZ ERA

NEW BASIS FOR MIDDLE EAST RELATIONS

from Jon Kimche

Paris:

For the first time since General de Gaulle took over, one senses a curious political *malaise* which extends into the innermost regions of the regime. It has taken many forms, and has found a number of rather oblique expressions.

It is the essence of this situation that nothing is said bluntly, that the switch that is taking place is carefully blurred. Yet it is a foreign policy reorientation of considerable dimensions.

Its chief characteristic is that the Suez interlude is no longer considered as a major element in the making of foreign policy; both the friendships and the enmities then incurred are to be reassessed in practical instead of emotional terms.

Less public commitment: In the case of Israel, this seems to have led to a kind of normalisation of relations. In practical terms one could not detect any marked change; but it was different when one entered the subtle field of atmosphere. In future, one senses, there will be fewer mutual declarations of identity of outlook and community of purpose. The French will be less publicly committed to Israel, and the Israelis less concerned to underwrite every French action.

Some will see in this a cooling off of the so-called Suez amity, and a consequential setback for Israel. But as things are in the world—and at the United Nations—Israel may gain as much, if not more, from the emotional detachment than the French.

The French leaders have, if anything, encouraged this trend. They have made it clear that they understand that Israel's relations with the African nations may suffer from too great a loyalty to the Israel-French connection. And the Israelis have been told frankly that the French Government understands Israel's interest in maintaining these African friendships.

Nasser and Algeria: The French, on their side, evidently want more freedom of diplomatic action, especially in Cairo. The effusive part of the Franco-Israel combination has become something of a handicap in this new operation,



COUVE DE MURVILLE AND BEN-GURION
A kind of normalisation

which is based on a reassessment of President Nasser's present and possible future role in the Algerian conflict which still bedevils France.

He is no longer considered in purely negative terms by the makers of French policy.

What is happening is that the French Government is looking forward realistically to the developments in Algeria and at the Assembly when the Algerian question comes to be debated. In doing so, they have provided the Israelis with a greater freedom of action than they had enjoyed hitherto where French affairs were concerned.

A new phase? The reappraisal therefore may well have to be extended from the Quai d'Orsay to Jerusalem. It may be the beginning of an important new phase of foreign policy making for the Israelis.

MRS. MEIR ON TARGET

LOUTFI REJECTS THE CHALLENGE

from our own correspondent

United Nations, New York:

Although Arab spokesmen tried to dismiss it as "propaganda, pure and simple," Israel Foreign Minister Golda Meir's appeal in the Assembly on Monday night for Middle East disarmament and direct Ben-Gurion-Nasser peace talks made a powerful impact, especially on representatives of the Afro-Asian bloc.

Delegates gave Mrs. Meir a standing ovation, while the Arab representatives

sat silent and unmoved, a posture they had maintained throughout her address.

The central point of Mrs. Meir's statement to the Assembly was that there should be complete disarmament of Israel and the Arab states under mutual inspection and control. Neither side, she pointed out, could afford an expensive arms race.

Quote from Nkrumah: But the Israel Foreign Minister made her most telling point when she asked whether President Nasser was himself prepared to do what he had advised other world leaders to do—to meet and negotiate. Was he prepared to meet Ben-Gurion for negotiations on peace, or at least an agreement on non-aggression?

She was able to bolster her case effectively by drawing on President Nkrumah's plea last week for a "recognition of the political realities in the Middle East" and announced Israel's willingness to accept his suggestion for finding means to make it "impossible either for Israel to attack any of the Arab states, or for the Arab states to attack Israel."

In support of her contention that this latter was a distinct possibility, the Israel Foreign Minister quoted from a statement by President Nasser on May 8 in which he proclaimed "our determination to retrieve our rights by the force of our arms." How, she asked, did this accord with his plea for peace and his pledge of devotion to the United Nations Charter?

A little baffled: No-one, least of all the Israeli delegation, expected a positive answer from the Arab desks. But U.A.R. representative Omar Loutfi cut less than a convincing figure with his demand for Israeli implementation of certain U.N.



HAROLD BEELEY
The first since Suez?

resolutions and his loss of memory regarding certain others not to his country's liking.

There was also something shallow about his argument that there was no similarity between the positions of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and those of Israel and the Arab states. "Peace," he told the Assembly, "is not made of words. It is a political decision. It is conduct, and the conduct of Israel is an aggressive and belligerent kind of behaviour."

This, of course, went down well with his colleagues in the Arab delegations. But some of the newly admitted African and Asian countries looked a little baffled by it all as they left the Assembly chamber.

HAROLD BEELEY FOR CAIRO?

NEW TALKS ON AMBASSADORIAL EXCHANGE

British and U.A.R. officials are continuing the private talks initiated in New York by Prime Minister Macmillan and President Nasser. The main point in their discussions remains the question of re-opening formal diplomatic relations between the two countries and the consequent exchange of ambassadors between them.

These are not the first contacts on this issue. It had been raised on several occasions by both governments. The last occasion was as recently as six weeks ago when the subject was broached by the British Chargé in Cairo before his return home.

The Chargé, Colin Crowe, was instructed to tell President Nasser that H.M.G. could not accept his terms for the re-opening of formal relations. Nasser had made it a condition that the British Government should not undertake further arms deliveries to Israel and should abandon its present friendly policy towards Israel, a feature of the past three or four years.

Who has changed? In one of his last acts before leaving the Foreign Office for the Exchequer, Selwyn Lloyd informed the U.A.R. that if the alternatives were accepting Nasser's terms or not having a United Arab Republic ambassador in London, then he would prefer to do without the ambassador.

But there appears to have been a shift in attitudes since the Nasser-Macmillan meeting in New York and the Prime Minister is now known to favour an early settlement of the problem. It is not yet clear, however, whether the Prime Minister is ready to go along with Nasser's demands, or whether the U.A.R. President has modified his stand on the Israel issue.

While this still remains to be clarified, a familiar name is already being mentioned as Britain's first post-Suez Ambassador in Cairo. He is Harold Beeley, now Britain's permanent representative at the U.N.

A long way: Beeley will be best remembered as Ernest Bevin's adviser on the Middle East. He has come a long way since then. His views, according to close associates, have moved with the times.

One of his first jobs, if he is posted to Cairo, will be to sort out the tangle involved in the seizure of British businesses by the Egyptian authorities, a lengthy matter by any estimate.

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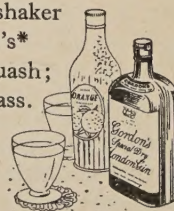
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MIDDLE EAST

HERO'S WELCOME HOME FOR NASSER

CAIRO WEIGHS GAINS OF U.N. VISIT

from our own correspondent

Cairo :

Though the winds of fortune, and the intricacies of U.N. power politics, had already turned against President Gamal Abdel Nasser's neutralist resolution for direct Eisenhower-Kruschev disarmament talks by the time he left New York on October 4, the welcome he received here was one for a hero who had left the U.A.R.'s mark stamped indelibly on the United Nations and world affairs.

The National Union and all of its youth, labour, professional and trade union groups staged a giant assembly to greet him. Close to 300,000 persons spent a good part of their unofficial half-holiday in the streets between the airport, Heliopolis and Cairo to catch a glimpse of the "hero of peace."

Veteran Cairo observers were astounded by the almost unprecedented relaxation of the usual security precautions. Nasser's exact arrival time had been announced 12 hours in advance.

Hussein under fire : Diplomats, newsmen and official guests were allowed to crowd closely around the President, both at the airport and in the Executive Council building, where he and Ali Sabry conferred briefly with the Vice-President, Field-Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer, and with Abdelhamid Serraj, Chairman and Interior Minister of the Syrian region, about the state of U.A.R.-Jordan relations. Then the Rais made his 40-minute homecoming speech.

Apart from concentrated attacks on King Hussein as an "ally" and "hireling" of Zionism, and on Hussein's father, the late King Abdullah of Jordan, whom Nasser accused of "selling Palestine to the Jews," the President's address largely summed up the arguments for a reinforced positive neutralism which he had expounded before the General Assembly on September 27.

It was the carefully drafted speech of a prophet of peace and moderation, and this image was mirrored in a political cartoon in the weekly newspaper *Sebah el-Kheir*: Nasser wearing the uniform of a traffic cop, and smiling as he directed two flashy roadsters, one driven by Eisen-



HOME IN TRIUMPH
Peaceful co-existence, with one or two exceptions

hower, the other by Kruschev, away from "Armaments Street" and toward "Peaceful Co-existence Street."

For Hammarskjold : But the Rais had already sensed Nehru's impending withdrawal of the five-power neutralist resolution in the General Assembly. He denounced Australian Prime Minister Menzies, whose role in the preliminaries of the Suez crisis is still remembered and resented here, as having served "the cause of imperialism" by "wrecking" the neutralist resolution with his own proposed amendment calling for a Big Four meeting.

Above and beyond all the platitudes, charges and counter-charges which the world press poured forth concerning the General Assembly and Nasser's role as an aspiring rival to Nehru for the leadership of the uncommitted states, what had the trip actually accomplished in the eyes of Cairo's press and public?

First, the U.A.R. had decided to oppose, at least for the time being, Premier Kruschev's offensive against Secretary-General Hammarskjold.

Upholding the Charter: Nasser, it was reliably reported here, had told Mr. H. that he was "puzzled" by the anti-Lumumba actions of "certain U.N. personnel" in the Congo (the Cairo press still frequently pictures Katanga leader Moise Tshombe as a "tool" of Zionism as well as of Belgian imperialism), but that the U.A.R., despite the withdrawal of its military contingent, would continue to co-operate with the U.N. in the vast technical, economic and humanitarian tasks cut out for it in the Congo.

This qualified support of Mr. Hammarskjold was affirmed in an *al Gumhuriya* article on Oct. 6, which affirmed that "even if the Secretary-General had had bad luck" and had "not always been able to show complete neutrality . . . because of the chaos in the Congo," this was no basis for the Soviet campaign against him, nor should he be held responsible for the "Russian political defeat in the Congo."

Secondly, President Nasser had clearly and concisely stated the case for strengthening the United Nations through giving the uncommitted powers a greater voice and through increasing the respect for, and the observance of, the principles of the Charter.

Mistake to "erase" : These points were



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AUTUMN IN DAMASCUS
Was it murder?

supported by his homecoming speech. But he had some other things to say, among them:

ISRAEL: "During this visit, we were able to show how Israel has usurped a part of the Arab homeland, how such an error was committed, and how the U.N. abandoned its responsibility toward Palestine and the rights of the Palestinian people.

"We declared our opinion clearly and unequivocally. We said that the mistake should be rectified by erasing it, and that matters should be restored to the state existing when the mistake occurred. We declared clearly and frankly that we could never forget the rights of the people of Palestine."

ZIONISM: "World Zionism attempted to portray us as savages, troublemakers and surly people. I want to tell you that the people of New York, for example, expected to see Gamal Abdel Nasser stand up shouting and yelling, a picture by which Zionism attempts to deceive the American people. Nevertheless, they naturally found another picture.

"They found a picture which truly represented this people—this free and independent people. I can say that the picture depicted by Zionism has now faded, and that Zionism at this time will not be able to find an outlet; nor will imperialism, which in the past allied itself with Zionism, find any outlet.

"We felt that the world represented at the U.N. regards the Arabs with respect and appreciation. I heard those words from all those I met. I also heard this from all heads of states whom I met. Zionism was not able to oppose us. Of course it fought us, but it was unable to stab us or have any effect upon us."

Whatever the aftermath in New York may show, there was no doubt in the mind of the Cairo crowd that the President's journey had been both necessary and eminently successful.

FUNERAL DRUMS AND FANFARE

BUT NOT A CAUSE FOR WAR

from our own correspondent

Damascus:

"Treachery, treachery," shouted mobs in Salkhad, near the Jordan frontier. "Murder, murder," chanted other mobs here, during a mass public funeral for Pilot-Officer Adnan el-Madani, the 24-year-old flyer who landed in Jordan on September 28 and was reported by Amman radio to have committed suicide five days later.

Throughout Syria, public demonstrations, some of them relayed by radio to all parts of the U.A.R. and a few attended by leading U.A.R. dignitaries, called for "revenge" for the death of Madani.

The Madani affair had taken on the proportions of a major incident, certainly the most serious in the long series that

has been building up the tension between the U.A.R. and Jordan since last April.

Relaxation: As U.A.R. Deputy Foreign Minister Hussein Zulficar Sabri, for the second time in a week, summoned Jordan Ambassador Mohammed el-Shu-reiky to his office to hand him a protest note, a neutral diplomat, who had been present in Amman at the time of the assassination of Premier Hazza el-Majali, observed that the U.A.R.'s rulers, in the Syrian region at least, were making nearly as big an issue of Madani's death as Jordan had of Majali's.

Amman's first version of the affair had been that Madani had landed "near" a Jordanian military airfield and asked for political asylum. Details had been promised in public press conferences which were never held.

Then, according to Amman, while "relaxing" with some Jordanian colleagues at an Air Force officers' club in Amman, Madani had asked to be excused. Entering the quarters of a Jordanian officer, he found a gun and shot himself.

Invited to participate: A Jordan communiqué had said that an investigation was under way and that the U.A.R. Embassy had been invited to send a representative to participate.

Another Jordan communiqué—and Cairo and Damascus carefully noted the contradiction it implied—said that the pilot had been "in good health" and was "being questioned."

A day later, the U.A.R. authorities here announced that Madani's 'plane had run out of fuel during a training flight and been forced to land on Jordanian soil. They held Jordan responsible for both the 'plane and the pilot, and demanded the return of both.

"Tortured for a week": The first solid tip-off that Cairo and Damascus were not going to be content to let matters lie came in a statement by the U.A.R. First Army Commander in Syria, Lt.-Gen. Gamal Feisal. He said Madani "died a martyr's death in Jordan," following torture aimed at making him denounce his government and defect to Jordan.

This theme was amplified by President Nasser in his speech of October 5, and in the official U.A.R. protest note delivered to the Jordan Ambassador the next day.

General Feisal claimed at a demonstration on October 6 that Madani had been tortured for a week and finally killed without the knowledge of the Jordan commander-in-chief, whose officers, he said, "receive their orders directly from the Royal Palace in Amman, which is

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under the influence of foreign officers."

The real danger: "The suicide of the officer," said the U.A.R. note of October 6 in part, "as alleged by the Amman government, could not have taken place in the manner described by the Jordan General Command except in circumstances of extreme torture and intimidation, or as a result of the officer's scornful refusal to betray his country and comply with the demands of the Jordanian authorities to make a false confession, thus setting a high example of self-sacrifice for his country and his sincere belief."

Despite the funeral drums and the fanfare, there were few observers in either Cairo or Damascus at the end of the week who believed that the Madani affair, more than any of the other, less serious Jordan-U.A.R. incidents of the past months, would turn out to be a *casus belli*.

Nevertheless, there is growing uneasiness caused by reports coming from First Army headquarters which claim that the bulk of Jordan's army has been concentrated along the roads leading into the heart of Syria.

The real danger—as seen from here—seemed to be that an internal upheaval inside Jordan might prove too much of a temptation to outsiders—with the result that the entire precarious balance of the armed truce in the Middle East might be upset by the careless acts of a few individuals in a few hours.

CLUE TO JORDAN-IRAQ ACCORD?

U.A.R. COMPETITION HITS LOCAL INDUSTRY

from a special correspondent

The rapprochement between Jordan and Iraq, besides its obvious political motivations, may also have had some economic causes.

The Jordanians understandably fear dependence on the trans-Syrian route to Beirut. It may be expected that improvements and intensified traffic on the highway linking Jordan with Iraq will be among the fruits of the new concord.

Less certain of realisation are the hopes expressed by the Jordanian Minister of National Economy, Rafiq el Hussein, concerning the revival of agricultural exports to Iraq. Jordan's growing population will require a sizeable percentage of locally-produced foodstuffs—especially if living standards are to be raised.

Blueprints for progress: Moreover, taking transport costs into account, exporting fruit and vegetables to Iraq is

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hardly a long-term, economically sound proposition.

Nevertheless, the development of Jordanian agriculture is important, both as a means of settling the unemployed refugee population, and to raise the overall standard of living. In this connection, the blueprints submitted to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development by the Jordan Development Board are worthy of mention.

The loan applied for a total of £13.1 million, with a further £39 million requested at a later stage. Of the initial £13.1 million, two-thirds are earmarked for water and irrigation projects.

Political implications: Most of the latter are intended to provide work in agriculture for persons now unemployed, but a sum has also been set aside for restoring the water pipeline from the ancient Solomon's Pools to the Old City of Jerusalem.

It is hoped that when these plans are implemented and the large-scale investments in industry made last year begin to bear fruit, the pressure of the jobless will be relieved. This is also important to Jordan for political reasons, since idleness tends to encourage the sedition seething not far below the surface.

Rafiq el Husseini has stressed the fact that Jordan today has 140 factories of various types. This may be progress as compared with the past, but is still a long way from solving any problems, the more so since many of the plants are small and sometimes there is trouble owing to the difficulties of enforcing customs regulations, or the lack of them.

Matches and soap: For example, the "Eastern Matches Company" of Nablus, which has been operating since 1938 and employs more than 100 workers, has for several months past been working well below capacity owing to the competition of cheaper Syrian and Egyptian-made matches.

The employees appealed to Premier Bahjat el Talhouni to intervene. The Nablus soap factories are in a very similar plight—also due to Syrian competition. The authorities may now cease to grant import licences for locally produced manufactured goods, but they will have greater difficulties in stopping smuggling across the Syrian border.

Industrial development will thus have to be very carefully planned and executed. At the moment, it has not really got going. If the International Bank grants the £12 million requested for developing potash production at the northern end of the Dead Sea, as well as the further £5 million for a scientific research centre and industrial productivity institute, the



INSIDE THE OLD CITY
Solomon's Pools pay off

country will really begin to move forward on this front.

500 jobs, 11,000 applicants: Meanwhile, foreign aid is Jordan's lifeblood. It has enabled the Government not only to maintain the armed forces that stand between it and Nasser's expansionist aspirations, but also to employ an increasing percentage of the labour force in the civil service and on public works projects.

The number of workers on the payroll of the Public Works Department rose from just under 6,000 in July 1959 to 27,700 in July 1960. The civil service is growing at a much slower pace, despite the fact that there were 500 vacancies in it during the last six months. For these there were 11,000 applicants—a nice pointer to the desperate employment situation.

One marked success has been chalked up by the Jordanians: the number of tourists visiting their country last year—according to Rafiq el Husseini—was 104,000. This is considerably more than visited Israel. Of course, the fact that the neighbouring states are closed to Israelis and vice versa limits the number of potential visitors here. A tourist who first enters Israel cannot obtain admission to a neighbouring country, though Israel gladly welcomes tourists who cross from Jordan.

Way ahead: On the other hand, it should be noted that Jordan has nothing like the quantity and quality of hotel accommodation possessed by Israel. This raises the probability that Israel has been concentrating too much of her tourist effort on Jews and has not sufficiently accented the attraction of the Holy Land for Christians. In this respect, at least, the Jordanians are way ahead.

IN THE NEWS

LAVON MEMORIES

I HAVE BEEN looking at my diary notes for February 1955. I had arrived in Israel just as the first rumours of Lavon's impending resignation were made public, and then confirmed. What is interesting now is to look back on the reasons given at the time by Lavon's friends and by Sharett's intimates for this Cabinet crisis. No one connected it with anything that had happened outside the country, or with any so-called security breakdown. On the contrary, when I, in my innocence, suggested that there was an obvious link there, I was told very firmly that I was wrong.

The contemporary version was that Lavon had become temperamentally incompatible with Dayan (who was out of the country at the time), with Peres who had claimed openly that Lavon had been administratively a bad Minister, and with Sharett who took exception to Lavon's unbridled extremism and activism in his advocacy of action by the Israel Defence Forces. This last point seems to have been largely forgotten in the recent disputations. Lavon had originally been a moderate in matters of defence, but when he became Minister he appeared to veer to the opposite extreme. He became the blue-eyed boy of the extreme activists both on the Left and the Right. And on this question he clashed not only with his own Ministry but also with the then Prime Minister, Moshe Sharett. And it was Sharett who turned down Lavon's demand that he should sack both Dayan and Peres.

EICHMANN: THE FINAL PHASE

PREPARATIONS FOR THE EICHMANN trial have lately gone more smoothly than had been expected, I am told by one of the key men concerned with it. It is going to be, as he put it, a "British" trial. There will be no staging, no unnecessary dramatics and, above all, no loading of the dice (there would seem to be no need for it) against the defendant. That means that there could be unexpected and even unpleasant surprises in the public reaction to the trial. But the Israelis are determined that there shall be no tampering with the course of justice, no matter the risk.

And the risk is not inconsiderable. For I gather that Eichmann has lost none of his cunning. He has defended himself



EICHMANN'S GERMAN COUNSEL SERVATIUS
Some subtle variations

with shrewd and calculated answers. Apart from the expected and familiar plea of acting under higher orders, he has introduced some subtle variations to this theme. With almost masterly casualness he has endeavoured to shift the blame from the S.S. to the Wehrmacht, and has repeatedly expressed surprise that the Wehrmacht should have behaved so brutally. He is also—as was to be expected—leaning heavily on the Kastner affair and the mission of Joel Brandt as demonstrating his willingness to save Jews. The fault that he failed, he claims, was that of the allies, not of Eichmann.

He has also produced a long list of alleged examples of how he helped Jews to escape the Final Solution. But how much of all this he will be able to make stick when faced by the terrifying mountain of evidence that exists remains to be seen.

I discussed this with a leading non-Jewish jurist in Geneva last weekend. He thought that the trial would be most important, but he still hoped that the Israelis would not give it even the appearance of a show-trial with hundreds of reporters present listening to simultaneous translation. It would be so much more effective, he argued, in a simple Israeli court-room, conducted exactly as would any other trial before the Israeli courts. He has a point there.

MENTALITY OF RACISM

ONE WONDERS whether there will ever be an end to racism. It is so often a cover for other things. But even so it is important to get underneath its skin, or inside its mind. The current issue of the *Unesco Courier* (readers will find an announcement about it on page 6) has made a bold effort to grapple with the less obvious aspects of racism. An article by Dr. Marie Yahoda, in particular, illuminates the darker recesses of the mind which shapes the outlook and dictates the action of the racist. It is a timely and important contribution to a problem that constantly changes its shape but in one way or another seems to remain with us.

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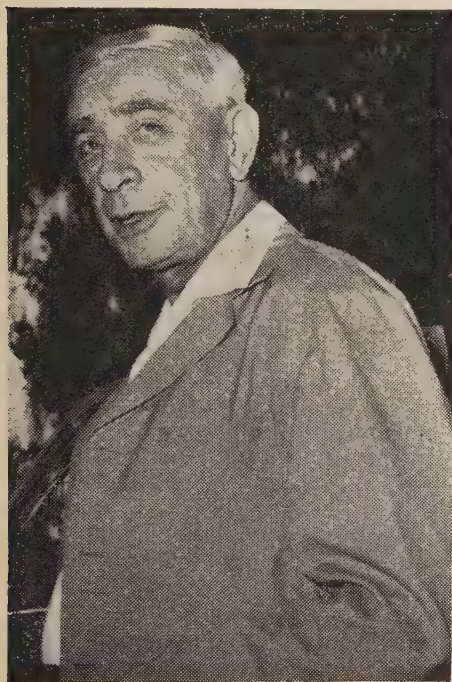
ISRAEL

NOW LAVON CHARGES "A CONSPIRACY"

BLAMES PERES FOR HIS RESIGNATION

from our Jerusalem correspondents

Histadrut Secretary General Pinhas Lavon has now made it clear beyond doubt that his "rehabilitation" can be secured by nothing less than the neck of Deputy Defence Minister Shimon Peres. And he has set out on a bold campaign to achieve his end, regardless of the



LAVON
The one who went

damage that might be done to Mapai as a result.

Lavon is determined to fight, but on his own terms and with his own weapons. What nobody has yet been able to discern is the advantage to be gained from the struggle which he has now launched.

Events have come a long way in the couple of weeks since it was reported that, on the basis of testimony given in a civil court case, evidence had been secured to show that Lavon had been involved in a 1954 security *gaffe* on the basis of forged documents.

Only amend: These reports, put about by Lavon aides who succeeded in drumming up press support for an inquiry to

"rehabilitate" the former Defence Minister, were given considerable currency until Prime Minister Ben-Gurion intervened last week to point out that, on the basis of Lavon's own statements at the time, he had resigned because certain proposals he put forward for reorganisation in the defence structure had been turned down.

But last week, in a two hour appearance before a special meeting of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, Lavon put an entirely different complexion on the whole affair: his departure from the Defence Ministry in 1955 had been the result of a "political conspiracy" organised by Shimon Peres then director-general of the Ministry and now Deputy Minister of Defence.

This "conspiracy," said Lavon, had made his position untenable. Peres had been critical of his direction of the Ministry and had made co-operation between them impossible. He seemed to leave no doubt in the minds of the Committee that nothing less than the ousting of Peres would serve as a suitable amend.

"Mostly history": Taking issue with the Prime Minister, Lavon argued that his personal allegation was a matter neither for a security inquiry nor for a court of justice. It was for the Cabinet, or at least the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, to put right the "wrong" which had been done to him.

At the same time, he asserted, there were security aspects to the affair. This, and the fact that the Israel Army was dear to him, was the reason why he had kept silent for almost six years. But the situation had changed since then and so had the Army's personnel. To the officers of today, the events of 1954 were "mostly history."

This testimony was given to a closed meeting of the Knesset committee. Its members agreed to keep silent on what they had been told. But someone decided that the press should know and detailed reports were leaked to the newspapers.

Ben-Gurion corrected: In a statement after his committee testimony, Lavon made public a letter in which he expressed astonishment at Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's assertion that he knew nothing of proposals for changes in the country's security personnel made by Lavon before his resignation.

"As soon as you took over the Ministry of Defence," Lavon reminded the Premier, "you asked me to your office where I gave you a full account of events and of my suggestions."

"I told you that I had requested the dismissal of two persons from the de-

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fence organisation—a matter which I had regarded as essential if I was to continue in my position.” He agreed, however, that his other suggestions for organisational changes were not matters of equal urgency.

No harm done : Ben-Gurion was not slow to make amends for his slip of memory. He had in fact received a memorandum on Army changes submitted by Lavon at the time of his resignation in 1955, he stated in a letter of reply. But he had not agreed with the conclusions contained in this memorandum and had not put them into effect.

“I do not regret this,” he added, “for it has done no harm to the Army.” At the same time, he revealed that he himself had removed to another post a senior officer whose dismissal had been sought by Lavon.

The Premier’s reply concluded that he would be happy if Lavon were able to clear himself of responsibility for the affair that had been under discussion.

Reasonable conclusion not wanted : No one doubted that this last remark was a bid by Ben-Gurion to keep the Lavon affair tied to the security aspect, to prevent it from developing into an intra-party issue and to show his willingness to expedite a reasonable conclusion.

He followed up his letter with a practical gesture, by seeking consultations with former Ministers in the Sharett Cabinet.

But the Lavon camp has made it clear that reasonable conclusions are not sought. Their leader has returned from several weeks of convalescence in Switzerland determined to do battle with Peres and anyone who supports him. He has

acted astutely in choosing a battleground around which the haze of security considerations makes it difficult to sight your adversary’s weapons.

Eshkol summoned home : Party secretary Dr. Josephthal has drawn the only possible conclusion from the way the situation is developing. He has asked Finance Minister Eshkol to return home urgently from an overseas mission in order to assist in preventing the almost certain controversy that is going to wrack Mapai over the coming weeks.

Peres, who has been abroad during the past few days, has acted throughout with the utmost restraint, confining his remarks to matter of fact replies to correspondent’s questions.

It was one of these that elucidated the fact that Peres had testified before the security inquiry in 1955. This drew a bellow of anger from Lavon. Despite the fact that he had been Peres’ superior at the time, he alleged, he had not been shown Peres’ testimony to the inquiry on the grounds of security. But he could not understand why Peres had to testify at all since, on his own admission, he had not been involved in the affair.

“I was not surprised” : Peres’ reply to this was that a triple loyalty had been involved: to the State, to the law and to his superior. If the Cabinet or the Prime Minister appointed a committee and then summoned witnesses before it, it was the duty of those witnesses to testify to the best of their knowledge and conscience.

When Sharett told him in 1955 that Lavon had demanded his dismissal, “I was not surprised,” said Peres. He had his own views on how best to clear up the Lavon affair, he added, but so far he



PERES
The one who stayed

had seen no need to initiate reports in the press on matters which were outside the public domain.

There, for the moment, the matter rests. But the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee is expected to meet again soon to consider what further action, if any, is called for. Meanwhile, the Lavon camp continues its campaign for the Histadrut leader’s “rehabilitation,” oblivious apparently to any other consideration but the battle for which they have girded themselves over the years.

RABBINATE IN DISPUTE

MIZRACHI PLAYING RELIGION

from our Jerusalem correspondent

For the first time ever, it looks as if Israel is going to be without a Chief Rabbi. Not a few orthodox Israelis will be happy about this state of affairs, if it means at least a temporary respite from the sordid squabbles and backroom political horse-trading which have dragged traditional Judaism through the mud for the last couple of years.

In a fortnight’s time, the term of office of the Chief Rabbi and the Chief Rabbinate Council expires. Religious Affairs Minister Toledano, himself a rabbi, has said that he will not extend it. The present Chief Rabbi, Nissim, is equally determined to prevent elections which are now almost certain to result in victory for someone other than himself.

Were this to be the outcome, it

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would be unique, for up to now, Israel's Chief Rabbis have been re-elected every time and have always died in office. The background to this situation is most complicated.

Complicated regulations: Under Israeli law, two Chief Rabbis, one Ashkenazi and one Sephardi, are elected by a 70-man electoral college, in the first instance for a five-year term of office. At the same time a Chief Rabbinate Council is also elected.

The 70 members of the electoral college are chosen by an election committee of eight men, four of them appointed by the Minister of Religious Affairs, and the other four by the Chief Rabbinate.

But the matter does not end with these two straightforward, or fairly straightforward at any rate, regulations. 42 of the members of the electoral college must all be rabbis, and are chosen by the election committee.

Quarrelling for two years: The other 28 are lay members and are appointed by various municipal and religious councils. Which councils do the appointing and how many appointees each may have is decided by the Government, after considering the recommendations of the Minister of Religious Affairs.

When the Chief Rabbis' five-year term of office is due to expire, the first step is, of course, to set up an election committee. Which brings us back to Nissim and Toledano, who have been wrangling about various issues for the last two years.

Some months ago, after first having refused to appoint his four representatives to the election committee, Nissim finally agreed to do so. He was in fact only making a virtue of necessity, since Toledano had threatened to use his legal powers to appoint all eight members of the election committee if Nissim persisted in his refusal.

Furious protests: The committee having been appointed, it chose as its chairman the respected, veteran Mizrahi leader, Rabbi Maimon, a close friend of Ben-Gurion but hardly a Toledano supporter.

When the invitations to the election committee's first meeting were sent out, Toledano signed them. Nissim immediately protested furiously, and claimed that they should have been signed by him as well.

He then proceeded to declare the election committee invalid and ordered the four Chief Rabbinate representatives on it to resign. This manoeuvre was seen by many as designed to make impossible any elections for the Chief Rabbinate, because Rabbi Nissim seemed unlikely to win them, and if he did not, he wanted

to make sure that nobody else could.

Court action ordered: Be that as it may, Rabbi Abu-Ravia, one of the four members of the election committee who had resigned at Nissim's behest, later withdrew his resignation after a personal letter from Religious Affairs Minister Toledano. This meant that the election committee's four Toledano-appointed members plus Abu-Ravia, now had a quorum.

Nissim fumed and fulminated. He "withdrew" Rabbi Abu-Ravia's initial appointment to the election committee, and declared that any decision taken by it would be null and void because it had been constituted in contravention of the Torah and the Mishnah. Nobody took any notice of Nissim's pronouncements.

Not beaten yet, he ordered one of the three rabbis who had obeyed his command to resign from the election committee, to apply for a court order against Minister of Religious Affairs Toledano and Rabbi Maimon, requiring them to show cause why the committee should not be declared invalid.

Nothing gained: Sitting as a High Court of Justice, the Supreme Court granted the order and then cancelled it. Then, having been expanded, and sitting as a Court of Appeal, the Supreme Court reheard the case, the petitioners having been given the very rarely granted right of appeal against the first hearing.

The Court's decisions were:

1. Once the Chief Rabbinate has appointed its four members to the election committee it cannot dismiss them;
2. The remaining five members of the committee form a quorum and can take binding decisions;
3. Chief Rabbi Nissim's "dismissal" of Rabbi Abu-Ravia was *ultra vires*.

Rabbi Nissim has gained nothing by taking the matter to court. His behaviour has turned the election committee against him, and they will almost certainly select their 42 members of the electoral college from among Nissim's opponents, ruining his chances of re-election.

Will the boycott work? His latest move has been an order to all rabbis to boycott the election committee and any Chief Rabbi chosen by its appointees. Whether this will work depends on the support Mizrahi are prepared to give Nissim. Both Moshe Shapiro and Yosef Burg are on his side, but other Mizrahi leaders are not inclined to help.

Even at this late hour, Nissim has let it be known that he would be prepared to forgive and forget if Toledano were to promise that he would be re-elected. Toledano has let it be known that there is nothing doing along these lines.

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MIZRACHI'S GROWING EMBARRASSMENT

from the Jewish Affairs Reporter

Rather late in the day, the Mizrachi leaders appear to have realised that there is a serious election on for representation at the next Congress. It seems to have shocked them. They had become so used to appointing and arranging for their representation at Congress. And now they have to fight for it.

This in its way, of course, was unfortunate. For the Mizrachi leaders had nothing much to fight with, except their own purity and their Zionist Federation opponents' iniquity. But even that is not making much impression on the more intelligent and mature electorate of 1960.

Too many people have been taking note of the Mizrachi's peculiar role in the discussions revolving around the selection of a new Israeli Chief Rabbi. The venerable Rabbi Soloveitchik's refusal to accept the post because of the Mizrachi's political string-pulling is also still fresh in the voters' minds.

Resort to smear: Equally significant has been the Mizrachi's refusal to accept the challenge by the Zionist Federation General Zionists to support the reorganisation of the Jewish Agency on the basis of merit, not of party. It was, thus, almost a foregone conclusion that the only thing left to them to fight with was a personal attack on the Federation leaders.

Even this, where it does not step outside the borders of decency and the law, gives the impression of very sour grapes. The combination of the Z.F. General Zionists and its supporters in the Federation of Synagogues has been effectively organised and has made striking inroads into the customary Mizrachi strongholds.

To explain this, the Mizrachi has resorted to smear and innuendo (about which, I understand other action has been taken). But apart from this, there is no sign of policy, no inkling of a programme, no show of personalities that would justify the Mizrachi's determination to claim a monopoly of religion for political purposes.

Artificial warfare: By comparison, the Poale Zion campaign against the Federation General Zionists has been almost gentlemanly. It seems a great pity that

this party, which has so much in common with the Z.F. General Zionists and works with them amicably all the year round, has to import this purely artificial Israeli party warfare as if it were a real issue in the Congress elections.

There can be little doubt that the Z.F.

General Zionists have scored a considerable educational victory already, and have impressed on the electorate the all-important need to get away from the ludicrous and artificial contests which centre on Israeli parties when they should concern themselves with Diaspora issues.



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THE WIENER LIBRARY CATALOGUE (Series No. 1)—PERSECUTION AND RESISTANCE UNDER THE NAZIS, 2nd revised and enlarged edition; index, 208 pp.; (Published for the Wiener Library by Vallentine, Mitchell) 27s. 6d.

There are few students, researchers, journalists and authors who have not at one time or another been hamstrung because they needed certain information which was either unavailable, or else so difficult to ferret out that the time and effort required would have been out of all proportion to the use to which the facts could have been put. Fortunately for anyone who needs information of any kind connected, even remotely, with Hitler's Germany, the situation is totally different, thanks to the Wiener Library. If anything has been written at any time on this huge subject, the Wiener Library will have a copy. In the remote event that it does not, one of the members of the Library's immensely expert staff will know where it can be obtained.

Of course, the Wiener Library does not claim to be fully comprehensive, but its claim to be "serving a useful purpose in showing which sources are available in this country" is certainly justified, as a glance at this volume of the Catalogue, Series One, will show. Histories, documents, catalogues, pamphlets, they are all listed, their titles given in the original English, German, Polish or French. Not only has this been a major job of compilation, but it is also a monumental—and worthy—tribute to the untiring energy and work of Ilse Wolff, the ever-helpful librarian who has contributed so much to the high esteem which the Wiener Library rightly enjoys.

S.R.I.

HOW A GIRL GREW TO WOMANHOOD

BITTER HERBS, by Marga Minco; 124 pp.; (Oxford University Press) 10s. 6d.

When reading this book, any decent person will feel very humble. It will also cause those who review it, to try to come up to its level, and deal with it as honest-

ly as its young author deals with the predicament she describes. If one becomes excited and too emotional about other people's suffering, it often upsets the victims of even the meanest tyrannies. At least it upsets the survivors; perhaps the dead would have understood. Even in Jerusalem itself, this reviewer was severely sub-edited when he wrote about what happened in Nazi overrun Europe. For a moment, but only for a moment, he thought the Hebrew editor was a Prussian drill sergeant. Yet while keeping this well in mind, the only proper thing to do, is to forget the middlebrows and come out openly and say, in the plainest and strongest language that is at one's command that this little book by Mrs. Minco is without question really first rate in its own very original way. It is certainly a classic of understatement.

Bitter Herbs has been well-known in Holland and Germany for several years now. It is an account, short, dry and unsentimental, of what happened to one educated, cultured Dutch-Jewish family when Hitler overran Holland. The authoress is a young woman describing what occurred when she was still only a girl. She is the sole survivor of a family of six. There is a whole literature growing up, in several languages, about the German attempt to destroy the Jewish people. This is perhaps by far the most beautiful of all such books, if too slight to be considered a full-blooded work of art. One day some great writer, the equal of Dostoevsky, Balzac or Herman Melville, will add to the few really great masterpieces of world literature, by writing a book of the very highest literary merit, as a perpetual memorial to all those millions of people whose lives were stolen from them by the hatred the Nazis let loose. *Bitter Herbs* is a footnote to such a work.

Yet in one respect it fails. Just as *Animal Farm* failed to suggest that the experiment it describes might just possibly have come off, so Mrs. Minco too fails to mention the help given by the Dutch to those who were even more vulnerable than themselves. Yet the Dutch, (remember Spinoza) with the Italians and Scandinavians, the Bulgarians and the English, have the best record in all Christendom for their behaviour towards those Jews who have sojourned among them, during their long exile from the comfort of Israel. This book was written in Dutch, and it is certainly a needed addition to the thin literature of Holland, a land rich in courage, liberty and painting but poor in poets.

Paul Potts



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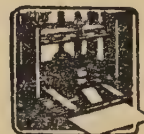
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A Jewish Observer — Israel Periodicals Panorama

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from Yohanan Ramati

Jerusalem :

Since Israel is trying hard to extend her exports, goods are sometimes sent abroad at prices varying with the country of destination, the price level depending on demand in the market, and occasionally some other factors. The tables show the situation in some important branches of the export trade. All prices are f.o.b. Israel ports.

CEMENT EXPORTS, Jan-June, 1960

Destination	Tons	Yield (U.S. \$)	Average Price (\$ per ton)
Tanganyika ...	14,000	177,872	12.70
Nigeria ...	14,000	174,821	12.46
Ethiopia ...	11,000	119,472	10.86
United States	10,000	103,393	10.34
Liberia ...	8,000	135,788	16.97
Other countries (mainly Ghana)	26,000	272,025	10.46
TOTAL ...	83,000	983,371	11.85

It will be noticed that almost all Israel cement is exported to Africa. The price obtained in the United States, which has ample supplies of its own, was naturally lower—though Ghana and Ethiopia paid very little more.

DIAMOND EXPORTS, Jan-June, 1960

Destination	Carats	Yield (U.S. \$)	Average Price (\$ per carat)
United States	108	8,993,944	83.27
Switzerland	37	4,030,365	108.93
Belgium ...	26	2,277,694	87.60
Great Britain	22	2,052,912	93.31
Other countries	83	11,698,545	132.94
TOTAL ...	281	29,053,460	103.40

Not all diamonds exported by Israel are of the same type, so that the price per carat may also vary according to the kind of stone exported. Nevertheless, it is unquestionably true that the United States, being by far the largest market, is generally able to obtain better terms than other countries. This also applies, of course, in the case of other diamond exporters competing in the American market.

COPPER CEMENT EXPORTS

Jan-June 1960

Destination	Tons	Yield (U.S. \$)	Average Price (\$ per ton)
Brazil	2,382	1,039,038	436
Portugal ...	1,258	525,754	418
Japan ...	1,027	415,637	405
TOTAL ...	4,667	1,980,429	424

Here it is interesting to note that exports to Germany, Belgium and Hungary, which were reasonably large in 1959, have been temporarily discontinued. One reason may be the much lower prices obtained.

PHOSPHATE EXPORTS, Jan-June 1960

Destination	Tons	Yield (U.S. \$)	Average Price (\$ per ton)
Hungary ...	27,000	200,084	7.41
Rumania ...	16,000	119,498	7.47
Japan ...	10,000	61,874	6.19
TOTAL ...	53,000	381,456	7.20

One of the factors which usually tends to raise prices is the existence of trade



MRS. DAYAN DOES THE HONOURS
Dieppe launching of a refrigerated whaler
for Israel

and payments agreements. The latter, of course, work both ways, Israel also having to pay more for her imports from the country concerned. Some agreements do not interfere with trade at normal price levels, but some do. This probably applies to the higher price obtained for copper cement in Brazil, and to the higher prices obtained from Hungary and Rumania for phosphates.

**UNION
BANK
SECURITIES
INDEX
1959-1960**

	29.9	4.10
DOLLAR BONDS:	93.2	93.6
C.O.L. BONDS	100.0	100.0
SHARES	287.1	293.3

TENDENCY:

DOLLAR BONDS : RISING

C.O.L. BONDS : STEADY

SHARES : FIRM

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Notice is hereby given that an interim dividend of 2 per cent, less tax, has been declared payable to the holders on the registers of the Company on the 30th September of the shares entitled to participate in this dividend.

Transfer books will be closed for this purpose from 7th November to 14th November and warrants will be posted on 15th November.

By Order of the Board
M. SILVERSTON, Secretary.

BOW BELLS HOUSE,
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LONDON, E.C.4.

10.10.60.

NEW YEAR— OLD PROBLEMS

MUST EVERYTHING STOP FOR THE HOLY DAYS?

Crowded as the synagogues were for the High Holidays, the beaches were even more crowded, with Israelis relaxing in the sun and enjoying the cool breeze.

But there was another side to the picture. Saturday, the Sabbath, followed on the heels of Rosh Hashana, so that the holiday lasted in effect from lunch time on Wednesday until Sunday morning. During the entire period there were no garbage collections.

No milk for children: By the end of the second day, whole sections of Tel Aviv stank like rubbish tips, despite the exhortations of the Municipality to wrap garbage before putting it in the dustbin.

There was supposed to be milk distribution at certain fixed spots for children and sick people, but they were so few and far between, and so obscurely sited, that most people arrived to find that milk supplies had already given out.

Mothers of small children had a hard time, particularly in homes where the old-fashioned ice-box has not yet been

replaced by a refrigerator, because ice deliveries were minimal too. There was still no fresh milk on Sunday morning.

All-time high for prices: For the two weeks preceding the holidays, food prices had been mounting steadily. By the time the last two days before the New Year arrived, they had rocketed to an all-time high level, especially for such commodities as fruit and vegetables.

The supermarkets could not cope with the demand, and their shelves had been stripped bare several days before the holiday. Even shops selling durable goods

seemed to sell out for the holidays, and managers everywhere said that they had never known such a shopping rush.

Municipal and government services were cut down drastically during the holiday period. There were no life-guards on the crowded beaches, although fortunately, the weather was good and the sea calm. The Post Office not only suspended all mail deliveries, but did not even deliver telegrams.

Hardships for many: The hardships this must have caused can be imagined. In one case, a family remained in ignorance of the death of a close relative for three whole days. Some solution will have to be found for holiday times. In a modern state, services can just not be closed down for long periods at a stretch.

HARD REALITY FACES CO-OPERATIVES

CRISIS ONE OF MANAGEMENT

from Ursula Wassermann

Tel Aviv:

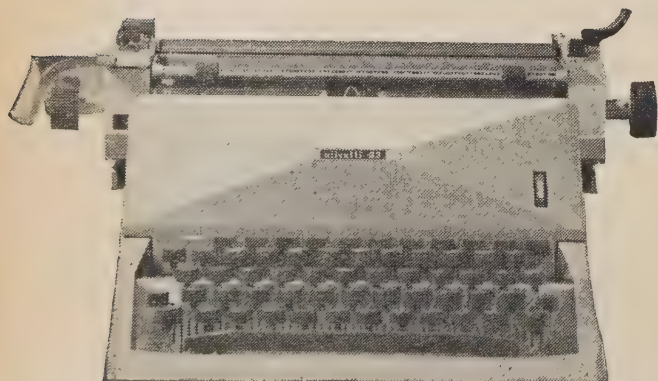
Professor Henrik Infield, is a recognised authority on the co-operative movement. For the past three years he has occupied the Chair of Co-operation at the Hebrew University, and his latest

FRANCE'S TRADE WITH THE MIDDLE EAST

In millions of \$	Exports to		Imports from	
	1959	1958	1959	1958
Turkey ...	27.9	30.3	16.3	18.3
U.A.R. Egypt	17.8	15.3	8.6	13.3
Syria	13.4	13.4	15.4	18.5
Iran ...	36.5	28.5	52.3	46.5
Iraq ...	1.9	5.7	185.9	180.1
Israel	26.4	22.2	3.7	5.7
Lebanon ...	28.5	27.3	3.2	6.2
Saudi Arabia	3.1	5.4	68.3	92.8
Kuwait ...	4.9	4.3	143.2	186.2
Jordan ...	2.3	1.2	—	—
Cyprus ...	5.1	—	—	—
Aden ...	—	—	—	—
Other States	5.2	3.7	73.8	71.0
Total ...	173.0	157.3	575.7	638.6

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CO-OPERATION ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE
A lesson for Burma from Israel

book *Utopia and Experiment* has appeared in half a dozen languages.

In an interview with the JEWISH OBSERVER, Professor Infield gave his views on the present crisis in the co-operative movement both in the consumer and transport co-operatives, and in the co-operative settlements, particularly the kibbutzim.

The co-operative movement, once the leading factor in society here, is today passing through a crisis because of fundamental changes in the country's social structure. "Without the co-operative economy as developed here," Professor Infield said, "there would have been no economic basis for the State of Israel.

"Pioneering venture": "Israel is the only country in the world where co-operative settlements came into being, not as a protest against a highly developed capitalist society, but as a pioneering venture in terms of social and economic development.

"However, co-operation was not an end in itself but a means toward the long-range goal of a National Home. This goal was reached sooner than many had expected, with the establishment of the State in 1948, and once the State had come into being, the co-operative movement naturally had to take second place. This resulted in deeply felt resentment on the part of the veteran settlers."

But resentment was not the only cause of the crisis, Professor Infield continued. The lack of properly trained managerial staff gave rise to grave problems. Before the establishment of the State, when private capital could not be induced to

invest here for lack of sufficient profits, the co-operative economy offered the only sound alternative.

Heavy competition: The introduction after 1948 of an economy half planned, half private, suddenly faced the co-operative movement with heavy competition in terms of production and of managerial efficiency.

Running a transport co-operative was fairly easy when it only had 50 members, but providing transport on a national basis, with several thousand members, and hired labour as well, was an entirely different proposition. Furthermore, those already in managerial positions have developed vested interests, and are reluctant to make room for younger candidates trained in modern methods.

The crisis in the collective settlements is also in large part a crisis of management declared Professor Infield. A kibbutz of some 50 members required far less organisation than the present mammoth settlements.

"Social change a problem": However, within the co-operative settlements, another factor entered into the picture. The main problem facing us today, Professor Infield said, "and not only us, is the problem of social change.

"The kibbutzim were founded on the hypothesis that by abolishing class differences and drastically changing the social structure, they would produce not only a more efficient type of economy but a better type of human personality.

"By establishing a social structure based on social justice, the kibbutz experiment has been successful, in the sense that, within the settlements, social justice

WEST GERMAN TRADE WITH THE MIDDLE EAST

In millions of \$	Exports to		Imports from	
	1959	1958	1959	1958
Turkey ...	111.2	66.1	93.3	53.2
U.A.R. Egypt	77.7	65.7	22.8	20.2
Syria	23.8	25.1	3.7	9.2
Iran ...	122.9	124.1	97.7	61.5
Iraq ...	30.6	36.4	83.5	75.0
Israel ...	45.7	58.7	14.1	11.1
Lebanon ...	28.6	21.1	2.1	3.7
Saudi Arabia	16.2	21.0	110.4	67.9
Kuwait ...	22.9	16.5	36.0	43.2
Jordan ...	11.9	8.4	—	—
Cyprus ...	10.3	8.3	20.9	17.4
Aden ...	4.9	4.2	0.3	0.3
Other States	5.5	5.8	0.4	5.1
Total ...	512.2	461.4	485.2	367.8

prevails as the foundation of social structure.

"Not entirely a political animal": "Human beings have not improved to the same extent, and enforced intimacy has led to the accumulation of explosive sentiments which are often rationalised into political differences. These are frequently caused by the total neglect of the development of human relations. Man does not live entirely as a political animal or as an economic entity.

"At the same time, economic difficulties are encountered—as in other types of co-operative—because the original pioneers refuse to make room for the younger generation, and some of the most dynamic younger members leave the settlements. They are not only in search of the flesh-pots of city life, but are deeply frustrated at not being able to put their own, more up-to-date theories into practice."

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HEAD OFFICE

TEL AVIV

Despite the testing time through which Israel's co-operative movement is passing, it is still natural for the new nations of Africa and elsewhere to take an interest in what was being done in Israel, Professor Infield said.

Israel was the only country where every type of co-operative organisation existed, and where co-operative settlements had a purely voluntary basis.

"Co-operation a means": "Like every other experience, it can be helpful to others", he commented, "provided they are also taught to beware of the pitfalls. Co-operation as an end in itself, is not enough, of course, but must serve as a means toward a long-range goal, a goal which can be defined only in terms of each nation's mentality.

"Co-operation can be useful only if it serves to satisfy the needs and wants of each people—and wants differ radically from country to country and continent to continent."

Afro-Asians, could learn a lot, despite the current crisis, for a crisis did not necessarily imply failure—it could also open up the way to recovery. Already experiments were under way for new types of co-operation, such as the regional planning recently introduced in the Lachish area.

A possible solution: "To study a problem on the basis of a living model, and adapt the methods used here to the patterns prevailing abroad, may still be one of the best ways of finding social and economic solutions in an ancient world looking for new ways of social and economic well-being," concluded Infield.

IN BRIEF

GOLD MEDALS FOR WINE

Carmel Oriental wines produced by the Société Coopérative des Grandes Caves Vignerones Richon-le-Zion et Zicron Jacob were awarded two gold medals and eight silver medals at the International Vine Culture Organisation's Budapest exhibition.

ISRAEL FOODS FOR U.N. FORCES IN CONGO

Seven tons of Telma soup cubes have been ordered from Palestine Edible Products Ltd., Haifa, and 20 tons of orange marmalade from Assis Ltd. of Ramat Gan, for the United Nations forces in the Congo.

NEW SHOP IN NEW YORK

Elite Ltd. of Ramat Gan, one of Israel's leading producers of chocolate and

confectionery, have opened a retail shop in New York. Of the company's \$446,000 worth of exports last year, about a quarter were sold in the U.S.

*Prepared by Jewish Observer—
Israel Periodicals, 13 Montefiore
Street, Tel Aviv. Phone 65882 and
63303.*

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Tuesday, October 18

THEODOR HERZL SOCIETY. 57 Eton Avenue, N.W.2. Zion House Lecture in connection with the Extra-Mural Dept., University of London. "The Hebrew University," lecture by Prof. Norman Bentwich, O.B.E.. Admission 2/-; students 1/-, 8 p.m.

Thursday, October 20

FINCHLEY ZIONIST SOCIETY. The Sun Lounge, Odeon Cinema, Temple Fortune, N.W.11. Brains Trust. Panel: Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, M.P., LL.B., Ald. Mrs. Ruth Winston, J.P., Mr. Janus Cohen, B.A. Question Master: Ald. M. P. Greengross, J.P., M.B.E. 8 p.m.

HENDON ZIONIST SOCIETY. Sol Memorial Hall, Raleigh Close, N.W.4. Brains Trust. Panel: M. Zeev Bilu, Dr. Elizabeth Eppler, Mrs. El. Frankel, M.A., Mr. David Glass. Question Master: Mr. Alic Nathan, O.B.E. 8.15 p.m.

STAMFORD HILL Z.S. Springfield Hall, 139 Upper Clapton Road, E.5. "Congress—What are the Issues?" Film show: "The Juggler" (U). Speaker: Mr. Woolf Perry. Mr. H. Conway will preside. No appeal. 8.15 p.m.

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JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by JPA/JNF Public Relations Department, Furnival House, 14 High Holborn, W.C.1. Chancery 5986/7

"SEND CASH IN!" PLEA BY KOL NIDRE EXECUTIVE

Results from synagogues of the Chief Rabbi's Kol Nidre Appeal which reached J.P.A. Head Office during the past week reinforce the belief expressed last week that 1960 would show an increase over the previous year.

We have now been in a position to examine the figures of more than 60 synagogues, and they set a general pattern of higher contribution, with more participants. But the Executive's anxiety remains lest there is an inordinate delay in substantiating the figures with actual cash. Synagogue wardens are implored to make their returns out as soon as possible so that the money may be remitted to Israel and the causes specified be allowed to benefit immediately.

Results still awaited are principally from provincial synagogues, most of them smaller congregations, and a few of those in the outer suburbs of London. These are estimated to bring the national total to just over £71,000, almost £2,000 above last year's final figure.

We give below a list of further results:

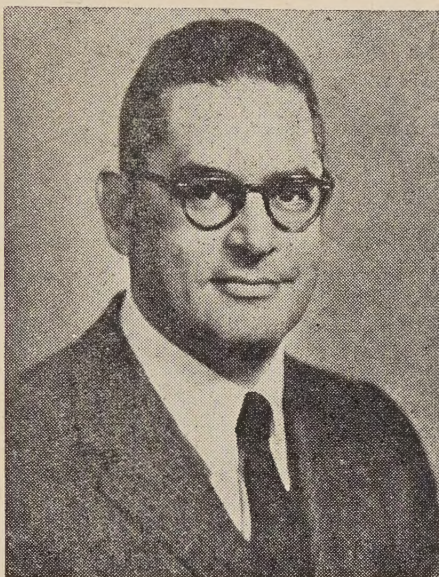
LONDON

	£
Brondesbury	1,100
Canons Park and Stanmore ...	1,000
Catford	250
Central Synagogue	1,600
Chelsea	400
Cockfosters	565
Finchley	3,140
Golders Green	3,000
Hammersmith	500
Hampstead	2,200
Hendon	2,500
Kingsbury	300
Mill Hill	500
Muswell Hill	350
Ohel Shem	500
South Hampstead	500
South-West London	250
Springfield	150
Streatham	370
Sutton	210
Tottenham Hebrew Congregation	150
Walthamstow	225
West End Great Synagogue ...	250
Western Synagogue	2,400

PROVINCIAL

Eastbourne	300
Middlesbrough	600

A CAMPAIGN PLATFORM FOR NEXT YEAR AGRICULTURE IS MAIN PLANK, SAYS U.J.A. LEADER



Rabbi Herbert Friedmann.

A two-month survey made in Israel this summer by Rabbi Herbert Friedmann, executive vice-chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, convinces him that the platform for 1961 campaigning on behalf of Israel must put its principal stress on agriculture.

Rabbi Friedmann gave this view to our correspondent during his brief stay in London last week on his way to Rome, where 150 members of the U.J.A. were to begin a three weeks' conference and survey that would take them to many parts of Europe, North Africa and Israel.

Razor's edge: Why did Rabbi Friedmann consider agriculture to be Israel's most critical problem? It was because of the 485 settlements that were poised on a razor's edge between self-sufficiency and possible collapse. He intended to show members of his mission one example of a village that had actually closed down and its land left vacant because the finance promised by the Jewish Agency to make it a going concern had not been forthcoming. A few such settlements had failed because the final portion of the investment due to them had been lacking. In some cases they had been three-quarters of the way there and it was just a question of extra live-stock or complete mechanisation or a few hundred yards of irrigation pipe which had caused them to be written off as a complete loss.

The aim of the study mission that

Rabbi Friedman is leading is primarily to examine settlements in varying stages of success so that it might assess the degree of fresh finance required for complete viability. For this reason it would spend less time admiring established kibbutzim and institutions, more time among new immigrants.

Rabbi Friedman stated that the new Appeal would be launched in America at a three-day conference from December 9-11 in New York followed by a series of regional events with mission members reporting.

Tomorrow's leaders: He was asked about U.J.A. plans for the future. "The job we have undertaken is two-fold", he said. "We have to rescue a people and re-establish a nation." This would not be achieved in the space of one or two years to come, and consequently the thoughts of his executive were exercised on the problems of leadership in 1970. With this in view it was convening a national conference in November of young men aged from 25-32. They were coming to New York from as far away as California and Louisiana. They were all paying their own expenses and they were going to sit down to a three-day discussion in which the principal topics would be education, public relations and community service for Israel.

IN THE GOLDEN BOOK

Recent inscriptions include: Mr. and Mrs. George Wilkes, in appreciation of their work in connection with the restoration of the Leazes Park Road Synagogue by the Old Hebrew Congregation; In memory of her father, Aaron Levin, her mother, Mrs. Hinde Beila Levin and her brother, Mr. Abraham Levin by Miss Leah Levin; David Ian Gibbs on the occasion of his barmitzvah by the Manchester J.N.F. Commission; Maurice Paul Glynne on the occasion of his barmitzvah by his parents; Maxwell Robert Burgman on the occasion of his barmitzvah by his parents; In memory of Israel Gershon Hoffman by his mother, Mrs. Annie Hoffman; Prudence Ann Yablon and Michael Jonathan Gillis on the occasion of their marriage by the parents of the bride; Elliot Morris and Micheline Kesler on the occasion of their marriage by their parents, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Morris and Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Kesler; Mark Paul Stone on the occasion of his barmitzvah by his parents; Mr. and Mrs. Jack Solomons in appreciation of their services given for the restoration of the Leazes Park Road Synagogue by the members of the Old Hebrew Congregation.

JPA - JNF NEWS

IN THE COUNTRY OF THE CAVES

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION AND ITS OUTCOME

by M. Gidron

Dare-devil cliff-hanging tactics, the latest mechanical devices, archaeological know-how and sheer luck combined recently to throw additional light on the turbulent period nearly 2,000 years ago, when Rome ruled the Holy Land.

This happened this year when the Hebrew University, the Government Antiquities Department and the Israel Exploration Society sent an expedition into the Judean wilderness to explore the caves between the oasis of Ein Gedi and the mountain of Massada, on the borders of the Dead Sea. It was the largest archaeological mission ever assembled in Israel, and comprised four separate teams that included farmers, students and young soldiers as well as well-known scientists.

The expedition had to squeeze through crevices, feel its way along narrow ledges above canyons and clamber up and down

perpendicular, 100-foot cliffs to reach the caves. Its members used mine detectors and pneumatic drills to help their instinct in their search.

Clues to history: It was in this area, in a cave only a few miles to the north, that the first of the Dead Sea Scrolls was found in 1947 and other precious parchments located in the succeeding years, in the caverns which honeycomb the district.

There was evidence that the caves were used by Bar-Kochba and his men during the period of the rebellion against the Romans of 132 C.E. They re-established a Hebrew State, which Rome finally overthrew in 135, thus ending the last Jewish commonwealth of ancient times.

Biblical parchment: The expedition had the help of the Israel Army, and its helicopters, flying low in the canyons, conducted a complete survey of the region before the expedition's launching. But to get to the caves themselves the explorers were compelled to use ropes secured with iron pegs and rope ladders that swayed in the wind.

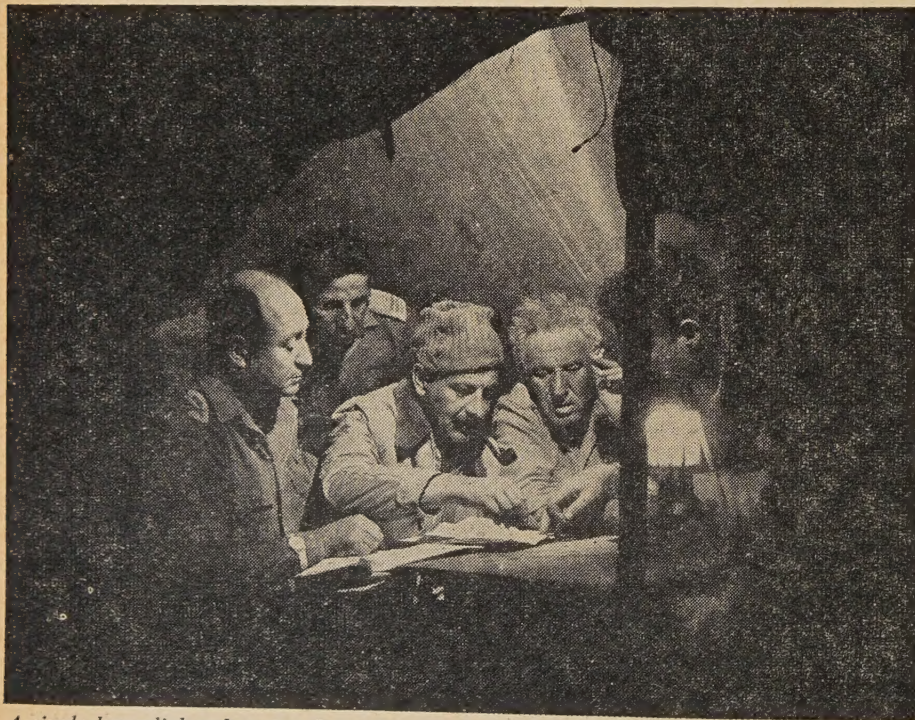
Within the caves the team members painstakingly sifted the rubble of centuries. The caves were soon filled with choking dust, and most of the explorers



Down the cliff-face.



An 800-ft. drop awaits the first false step.



A single lamp lights the tent where the next day's plans are discussed. Expedition members shown here are Joseph Aviram, co-ordinator; Avraham Joffe, Officer Commanding Southern Command; Joseph Jeffet, in charge of one of the camps; Yigael Yadin, expert on the Dead Sea scrolls; and Pessach Bar Adon, head of the Government Department of Archaeology.

had to wear filter masks.

One of the most important finds, a fragment of parchment scroll, was discovered in the dust by a young soldier. As the head of the archaeological team, Prof. Yigael Yadin, began reading out the difficult ancient script, the soldier blurted out: "Psalms, chapter fifteen." He was correct!

Prof. Yadin believes that the Biblical parchment was written in a period slightly later than the original Dead Sea scrolls. He dates it as 18 centuries ago.

Relics from Bar-Kochba: The expedition also found coins minted by Bar-Kochba's Government, clothing and arrows used by his warriors, fireplaces where they cooked their food, as well as a burial-ground. It became evident that caves across the entire area had at one time, probably during the last desperate phase of the rebellion, been used in this struggle against the Romans.

A mine detector led the archaeologists

J P A - J N F NEWS

to the first discovery of its kind ever made in this country—a woven basket containing a complete set of 18 Roman brass libation vessels. The jugs, incense shovels and bowls, preserved perfectly by the dry desert conditions, bore the faces of Roman gods and other pagan symbols. It was Dr. Yadin's view that they had been captured by Bar-Kochba's men in a foray against a Legion encampment.

Another chance discovery was made when a young archaeologist squeezed into an extremely narrow crevice in the innermost chamber of a four-chambered cave. There he unearthed a goatskin bag hidden under a boulder. This was a woman's knitting bag and contained skeins of coloured wool as well as a beautifully-fashioned mirror. It also held a bundle of papyrus and wooden strips with ancient writing.

At first the scientists thought these to be personal documents such as marriage contracts and perhaps charms against evil spirits. However, after the bundle was opened in Jerusalem it was found to be an archive of letters from Bar-Kochba to subordinate officers—a unique find, since only two letters from Bar-Kochba were known to exist. In fact, the entire period has hitherto been very poorly documented.

The letters show Bar-Kochba to have been a tough, brusque soldier accustomed to giving orders, as befitted the leader of a small people fighting a great empire. The notes, most of them written to two officers named Jonathan and Masabala, were brief and to the point; a sense of urgency was evident. They dealt with making arrests, harvesting certain crops, delivering grain to army units and so forth. At the same time, Bar-Kochba showed himself deeply concerned with problems of the Jewish faith and ordered his officers to gather offerings for a religious festival.

The letters clearly were written at a time when the rebels still controlled considerable territory. As they retreated to the caves, they apparently carried the letters with them as a souvenir of their leader.

The discoveries in the Judean wilderness, which have given the Israel scientists a mass of material for further study, underline the grim heroism of the rebels and the stubborn determination of the Romans, who built camps on the cliffs to starve them out. And so another dramatic chapter in the story of the Holy Land has been brought to light.

AMERICAN JEWRY TO PLANT FREEDOM FOREST

A new forest, sponsored by United States Jewry and intended as a mark of friendship between Israel and America, is shortly to be established on 2,000 acres of rugged land near Jerusalem.

To be called the Freedom Forest, the project is scheduled for launching in Washington next January by a committee which includes former President Harry S. Truman as honorary chairman. On his committee will sit the Governors of nearly all the 50 States of the Union, and the project will be detailed by Yaakov Tsur, chairman of the J.N.F. Board of Directors.

How is this new afforestation plan to be implemented? Its two million trees will be divided into 51 woods, each of

which will be named after one of the States of the Union as well as the District of Columbia.

These details were first made known at a special session devoted to J.N.F. activities of the 63rd annual Z.O.A. Convention at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in New York City. The session, however, was not simply devoted to academic discussion. No less than \$200,000 was subscribed on the spot. This included \$50,000 from Chicago and \$25,000 from the Los Angeles community.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, the Jewish National Fund of America has raised no less than \$30 million.

TREE INSCRIPTIONS

500 trees in memory of Jack Angel by the members of the Southend and Westcliff Hebrew Congregation; 50 trees in the names of Gordon Dresser and Doreen Ann Raphaelson by their parents; 40 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. Lew Ginsberg on the occasion of their 40th wedding anniversary by Mr. and Mrs. Judah Solomons; 30 trees in the name of Cyril Bernard Strauss on the occasion of his barmitzvah by his parents; 30 trees in the names of Susan Lewis and Raymond Vivien Appleson on the occasion of their marriage by the grandmother of the bride, Mrs. Ray Reiss; 30 trees in the name of Mr. Percy Kirk by the Jewish Community in Torbay; 30 trees in the name of Barnett Videlsky by his family; 25 trees in the names of Sydney Morris on the occasion of his 71st birthday; 20 trees in the names of Sonia Wilson and Michael Lawrence on the occasion of their marriage by the parents of the bride; 20 trees in the names of Marilyn Denvers and Stephen Specterman on the occasion of their marriage by the parents of the bride.

Fifteen trees in the name of Michael Anthony Wolff on the occasion of his barmitzvah by the West Ham J.N.F. Commission; 15 trees in the name of Elaine Hyman on the occasion of her graduation by Mr. and Mrs. B. Hyman; 13 trees in the name of Stephen Stewart on the occasion of his barmitzvah by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. M. Stewart; 13 trees in the name of John David Ashley Levy on the occasion of his barmitzvah by the Directors and Staff of the Jewish National Fund, Head Office in London.

Thirteen trees in the name of Jacine Shedley on the occasion of her passing Aishes Chail by the Southend and District J.N.F. Commission; 13 trees in the name of Doris Feigenbaum on the occasion of her passing Aishes Chail by the Southend and District J.N.F. Commission; 13 trees in the name of Stuart Elgott on the occasion of his barmitzvah by his parents; 13 trees in the name of Daphne V. Keen on the occasion of her passing Aishes Chail by the Southend and District J.N.F. Commission.

THIS WEEK'S BEST BOXES

N. LONDON: Mrs. L. Veronique, 81 Lordship Park, N.16, £4.14.0. Mr. I. Tenzer, 33 Chardmore Road, N.16, £4.0.0. Mrs. Birnbaum, 174 Kyverdale Road, N.16, £3.14.0. Mr. H. Weissberger, 57 Hampden Way, Southgate, N.14, £3.0.0. Mrs. Einhorn, 62 Queen Elizabeth Walk, N.16, £2.11.0. Mr. Lewis, 127a Stoke Newington Road, N.16, £2.3.0. Mr. I. Nagloff, 15 Oak Way, N.14, £2.2.0. Mr. Cohen, 33 Old Hill Street, N.16, £2.1.0. Mrs. P. Levy, 31 Lakenheath, N.14, £2.0.6.

E. LONDON: Mr. P. Phillips, 14 Mountford Road, E.8, £2.12.0. Mr. Shupack, 73 Colvestone Crescent, E.8, £2.6.4. Mr. Sugarman, 227 Amhurst Road, E.8, £2.1.0. Mrs. Amdur, 10 Downs Park Road, E.8, £2.0.0.

S.E. LONDON: Mr. Leon Camerman, 80 Muntion Road, S.E.17, £3.3.0.

S.W. LONDON: Mrs. Sybil Cowen, 65 Kirkstall Gardens, Streatham Hill, S.W.2, £10.0.0.

W. LONDON: Dr. Lasnick, 42 Cleveland Road, W.13, £6.1.0. Dr. Nussbaum, 36 Manor Court Road, W.7, £3.3.6. Misses Schlesinger, 4 Mount Park Crescent, W.5, £2.14.0. Mr. O. Deutch, 84 Drayton Bridge Road, W.7, £2.5.0. Dr. Dentovim, 133 South Ealing Road, W.5, £2.2.0. Mrs. June Hakim, 31 Gunnersbury Avenue, W.5, £2.0.0.

N.W. LONDON: Mrs. Scheps, 38 Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.3, £5.3.9. Mr. Isaac Wieselberg, 18 Tarranbrae, Willesden Lane, N.W.6, £4.13.6. Dr. J. Morris, 3 Briardale Gardens, N.W.3, £4.0.10. Mrs. Deco, 16 Roscroft Avenue, N.W.3, £4.0.0. Mr. G. R. Whyte, 8 St. John's Court, Finchley Road, N.W.3, £3.14.3. Mr. S. Englander, 5 Manor House Drive, N.W.6, £3.5.9. Mrs. B. Levine, 35 Heath Hurst Road, N.W.3, £3.3.0. Mr. Kurt Kingsfield, 50 West Heath Drive, N.W.11, £3.1.0. Miss Kay, 37 Ormonde Terrace, N.W.8, £3.0.0. Dr. Bienenfeld, 14 Arkwright Road, N.W.3, £3.0.0. Mrs. Spitzer, 5 Bermans Way, N.W.10, £3.0.0. Mrs. Henri, 27 Northways, College Crescent, N.W.3, £2.14.0. Mr. Feller, 6 Manor House Drive, N.W.6, £2.10.7. Mr. M. Kano, 34 Manor House Drive, N.W.6, £2.10.0. Mr. S. Seiden, 52a The Avenue, N.W.6, £2.10.0. Mr. Franks, 34 Marlow Court, Willesden Lane, N.W.6, £2.10.0. Mrs. Klaus, 31 St. John's Court, Finchley Road, N.W.3, £2.9.0. Miss B. Student, Flat 11, 14 Netherhall Gardens, N.W.3, £2.7.3. Mr. S. Gordon, 11 Templewood Avenue, N.W.3, £2.5.6. Mr. and Mrs. Nicholas Nicholls, 155 Beaufort Park, N.W.11, £2.4.0. Mr. G. Schalit, 45b Maresfield Gardens, N.W.3, £2.2.0. Mr. Max Eisen, 4 Dunrobin Court, Finchley Road, N.W.3, £2.2.0. Mrs. Lissaur, 1 Ingram Avenue, N.W.11, £2.1.6. Mr. J. Ross, 7 Spaniards Close, N.W.11, £2.0.0. Mr. M. Segal, 2 Redington Gardens, N.W.3, £2.0.0. Mr. K. Tobin, 17 West Heath Close, N.W.3, £2.0.0. Mr. and Mrs. D. Nelson, 81 West Heath Close, N.W.3, £2.0.0. Mr. Anthony Burstin, Vanity Fair, 70 Heath Street, N.W.3, £2.0.0. Mr. H. Tischler, 16 Beaufort Drive, N.W.11, £2.0.0. Mr. Jack Braham, 117 Beaufort Park, N.W.11, £2.0.0.

CHESHAM BOIS: Mrs. Ester Edelman, 'Lindisfarne', £2.0.0.

COCKFOSTERS: Mr. Lerner, 83 Belmont Avenue, £2.0.0. Mr. Lennard, 'Tudor House', 31 Mount Pleasant, £2.0.0.

HAYES: Dr. R. Obadiam, 238 Botwell Lane, £3.0.0.

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Presented by

ELSA WELLS

Thursday, 3rd NOVEMBER 1960

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